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241 writes (123, p. 124): "All the cultures in the surroundings of Hanga-roa are in bad shape and covered with weeds. They are not manured and their limits are badly indicated." Actually the aspect of each field varies with its owner and most of the plantations which I saw were as well cared for as those in Europe.

The impression that one receives by reading the descriptions of the first visitors to the island is that plantations were numerous and well ordered. The symmetry of the fields "prettily laid out by line" or "in a rectangular figure" is generally stressed in these early accounts (130, vol. 2, p. 259; 53, vol. 1, p. 294) as well as the fact that there were neither fences nor hedges except around the paper mulberry plantations. A mulch of dried grass was laid over some of the fields to protect the crops from the heat of the sun, to retain moisture, and to serve as manure (83, vol. 1, p. 579; 215, p. 456). Grass was sometimes "burnt in heaps" in order to fertilize the soil with its ashes. De Langle (130, vol. 1, p. 78) praises the soil as "a very fat vegetable earth, very proper for the culture of our grain." Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 41) saw numerous fields along the north coast which, if his statements are correct, bore the mark of an advanced technique: "Such places as were not immediately exposed to the scorching rays of the sun were laid out in oblong strips taking the direction of the ravines; and furrows were ploughed at right angles to them, for the purposes of intercepting the streams of water in their descent."

412 241 The digging stick was used until 1912. It has since been displaced by the plow, the spade, and the iron stick.

[177] There were two kinds of digging sticks. One was very solid, called *oka* or *huki*, and was used to loosen the soil, to break up clods of earth, and to remove stones. It was sometimes replaced by an oblong stone. The other (*akaue*) was thinner, a real dibble used to plant tubers. To plant yams or sweet potatoes is *hao*; to plant sugar cane or bananas is *oka*. The ancient word for "to harvest," "dig out" yams, taro, or sweet potatoes is *huaki*, but the word *heri* is more generally known today. The act of weeding is called *vero*.

241 462 Agriculture is largely the work of men though harvesting is done by both men and women. Men plant tubers and sow corn. Formerly the entire extended family cooperated in the tilling of the soil and in planting, but nowadays agriculture is carried on by the owner of the fields, his wife, or his children. Crops were under a *rahui* (tapu) until the moment of harvesting was [82] authorized by the chief. The positions of certain stars (*matamea*) fixed the time for crops and the harvest was accompanied by great feasts.

241 The efforts of ancient agriculturalists have been greatly underestimated. It is no easy task to remove the stones from the ground, to pull up the long-rooted weeds which cover it, then to loosen the soil, to build mounds, and finally to cover the young plants with grass. These requirements, coupled with the fact that the climate permits the growing of crops the year around, explain why Easter Islanders do not cultivate large areas.

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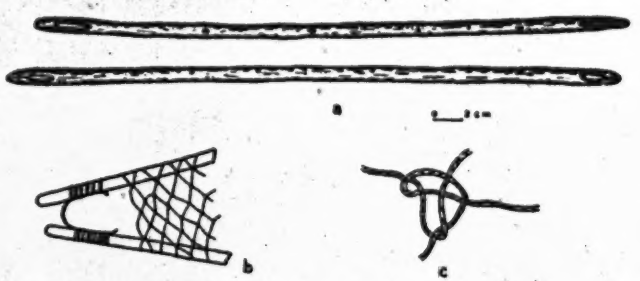
227 me from a stick about 30 cm. long. Both ends are slightly thicker than the middle, and
286 the extremities have narrow, longitudinal slots. Two shuttles collected by Thomson (fig. 12, *a*) do not have expanded ends. The cord was wound longitudinally between the two split ends. Nets with very small meshes, for catching small *ature* fish or small crustaceans (*koura*), were made with bone needles similar to those used in sewing tapa. Figure 12, *c* shows the knot technique of a net.

[412]



[284]

FIGURE 12.—Fishnets: *a*, wooden netting needles (*hiko*) 450 mm. long (U. S. Nat. Mus., 129738); *b*, method of lashing together ends of two poles of dip net (pl. 2, *A*); *c*, knot used in making fishnets (after a drawing by Dr. H. Nevermann, Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI.4963).

The first netmaker was the ariki Tuu-ko-ihu, the great inventor and expert. Names of some of the experts succeeding Tuu-ko-ihu have been preserved, most famous of whom were Poie, Te Ngaru, and Aru-manu-vie, who died not long ago. I was told that there are no good netmakers now.

DIP NETS

227 A handled dip net (*kupenga puhi*) had a frame consisting of a rod bent like a bow and fixed to the end of a handle about 1.5 meters long. The net was attached to the bent rod and to the handle. The *kupenga puhi* was a scoop for shore fish.

The *kupenga hakatoro* was made like the *kupenga puhi* but was much smaller. It was used to catch small fish along the coast, especially after a storm when fish were driven to shore, and to catch fish among the rocks, principally at a place called Puhinga. Eels and lobsters were captured in *kupenga hakatoro*. I suppose that Palmer (171, p. 174) has this kind of net in mind when he speaks of Easter Island nets " . . . which were made with small (half inch) meshes, and from their sizes used for the small fry."

A complete double-handled dip net was collected by Geiseler (pl. 2, *A*). There is some confusion among the natives about the name of this net. It was mentioned to Brown (27, p. 188) and to me as *kupenga tuku* or *tukutuku*, but the same term was applied to a set net with two lateral poles. Evidently the word *tuku* (pole) has come to designate any kind of net attached to poles.

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of this process. He considers it typical of central and marginal Polynesia (Rapa, Austral Islands, Cook Islands, Marquesas, Society Islands, and Hawaii). In western Polynesia retting occurs only in Tonga. Preliminary beating before soaking is not mentioned for Easter Island, Tonga, and Hawaii.

The square shape of the Easter Island tapa beater (fig. 22, *b*) resembles slightly the Mangarevan specimens. The relative thinness of the Mangarevan tapa beaters is due to the use of pandanus which affords only a thin slab of hard wood. The scarcity of wood on Easter Island may have brought about the same form. Tapa beaters were reconstructed for me by an intelligent native. Little ethnological value may be set on specimens patterned after dim recollections; but though not grooved, their general shape was fairly near the ordinary square tapa beater with rounded grip, usual in marginal and central Polynesia.

The anvil on which the bark was beaten was a square stone, because no logs were available. Stone anvils are described for the Marquesas (142, p. 473), but they do not seem to have been used in any other part of Oceania.

Easter Island is the only place in Polynesia where strips were fastened together by sewing. Elsewhere in eastern Polynesia the strips were felted together; in western Polynesia they were pasted. Tapa sewing was practiced in Hawaii to join together several sheets in order to make a blanket of many layers and sewing has been reported in the Society Islands (26, pp. 104-109). The basting stitch, used exclusively on Easter Island, is found on some old Hawaiian tapa.

Needles identical to those used on Easter Island for sewing tapa have been found in New Zealand and the Chatham Islands. They are probably pre-European, but no satisfactory suggestion has been made as to their use. The similarities between Easter Island and New Zealand needles are so great that details such as the occasional presence of two eyes on one needle, are present in both regions. The Easter Island needles like those of New Zealand have very small eyes which were bored by a technique which is puzzling. Steele (211, p. 187) supposes that in New Zealand these eyes were drilled either with a mature-bone drill on a green-bone subject, or by sawing on both sides of the needle with obsidian splinters until a hole appeared; the latter technique was apparently employed on Easter Island. Among the needles I collected on Easter Island some are curved, a form which also occurs in New Zealand. Needles with eyeholes were employed for sewing tapa in Hawaii, as on Easter Island. The specimens mentioned by Brigham are especially long and thick and more like the needles of Tonga, Fiji, and Wallis Island for sewing mat sails than the delicate bone needles of Easter Island.

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301 M1 The wooden crescents or *rei-miro* are without any parallel in Polynesia. Large breast ornaments of quite different material and shape were worn in Tahiti and in the Marquesas (142, pl. 78). Perhaps the *rei-miro* are genetically related to the pearl-shell breast pendants widely spread in Polynesia. The superficial resemblance to the big, crescentic shells of the Solomon Islanders does not imply a connection between Easter Island and Melanesia.

The wooden balls (*tahonga*) are paraphernalia peculiar to Easter Island. The value given to wood on this barren island has favored the invention and development of a great many wooden ornaments unknown in other regions of Polynesia.

Body Painting

302 386 412 [172] Until very recent times men and women smeared their faces and bodies with red, yellow, white, and dark dyes. The red dye (*kiea*) is a red-brown, weathered and mineralized tuff which is found in several places on the island, especially on the western slope of Poike Peninsula. *Kiea* was pulverized in a small stone mortar. Whole specimens or fragments of these mortars have been picked up in ancient settlements, with traces of red ochre in the hollow.

412 The bowl is made of an oval, waterworn stone which has been slightly abraded, but the general form is more or less conical. The cavity is shallow in proportion to the volume of the bowl. In the large bowls the hollow has been carefully ground while the outside is either slightly ground, pecked, or rough. The rim has also been carefully ground and made even. To judge from the fragments, some of these mortars were of beautiful workmanship; the interior is not only smooth and regular, but the bowls are almost perfect hemispheres. In the Bishop Museum collection, besides one whole stone bowl, there are fragments of nine others, of which one is almost entire (B3501, 5960). The largest fragment in the collection is 165 mm. long and the smallest 88 mm.

386 Another earth, probably unoxidized tuff, gives a chalk-white color (*mari-kuru*). To extract this earth the natives dug holes or pits. One of these mines was seen by the Spaniards under Gonzalez (90, p. 122) near Vinapu where there was a cave "with furrows in it of various tints, from which the natives gave us to understand by signs they obtained the pigments with which they paint themselves." Geiseler (87, p. 15) mentions a deep hole on the west slope of Rano-kao, out of which the natives dug a yellow pigment. Charred ti leaves mixed with sugar-cane juice produced a beautiful black dye (*ngarahu*). Yellow or orange dye was obtained from turmeric.

[773] Though *pua* is the Easter Island name for *Curcuma longa*, the general Polynesian term *renga* has been preserved in the name of the two birds Manu-keukeu-renga who taught the natives how to prepare dye from turmeric root. *Renga* means also "something nice." According to the legend of the origin of the *renga* it was prepared in a special long house and the smell of the turmeric is still celebrated in legends (p. 369). Turmeric was uprooted (*keri*) with a pointed stick, then carefully washed (*tata maitaki*) and grated (*oro*) on a rasp (*tama*) made of fine *toro-miro* or *hau* sticks. The natives compared this rasp to a grill or a mat. The grated turmeric fell into a stone basin (*taheta*),

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532 Native visitors to Rano-raraku have incised on several statues the big-eyed symbol and a mysterious pear-shaped sign that occurs on the tuff walls. A frigate bird is carved near a large statue lying in an artificial cave.

The discovery of so many petroglyphs on the island is of theoretical interest. The style of these designs resembles that of the symbols on the wooden tablets. They show the same skill, the same conventions, and the same remarkable vigor and elegance in tracing the outlines. Some petroglyphs, particularly one representing an octopus with a human head, prove the existence on Easter Island of a fully developed tradition of design.

PAINTINGS

The slabs lining the interior of the stone houses of Orongo were decorated with paintings. Most of these slabs have been removed in the past fifty years and a few have fortunately been preserved in European museums. The colors on those which remain in place have almost faded away. We could identify only one design, representing the big-eyed god outlined in red and black on a white background. The pigments used for paintings were a red and a white ochre and a dark substance, perhaps charcoal.

Several paintings at Orongo, copied by Geiseler in 1884 (87, pls. 7, 8, 12-16), represent dancing paddles (*ao*) with a conventionalized human face, the big-eyed god with a schematic arrangement of the organs of the face, and bird-man facing each other. A favorite motif is the design of European ships under full sail, indicating that the traditional art was still flourishing at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The paintings were generally placed on the wall opposite the low, narrow entrance to the house so that they might be illuminated by a little light and could be enjoyed by those who lived in the house. Birds and ships were also painted on the walls in the cave Ana-kai-tangata but have been destroyed recently. One of these birds has been drawn over the design of a European ship (194, fig. 102; 123, figs. 1, 3).

STONEWORK

STONE IMPLEMENTS

Adzes

412 324 The crudity of Easter Island adzes (*toki*) makes their classification difficult. In Bernice P. Bishop Museum, there are 113 adzes and adz fragments which are classified under two main types, with many slight variations due to the form or the quality of the stone. None of the Easter Island adzes seen is tanged, unless the groove, characteristic of some adzes of type 2, is to be considered an incipient tang.

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Easter Islanders showed me the quarry where all the stone adzes are said to have been made. It lies half a mile from La Pérouse Bay on the trail to Vai-tea. There are blocks of basalt (*maea-toki*, stone-for-adzes) which have been split and broken, and the ground is covered with flakes.

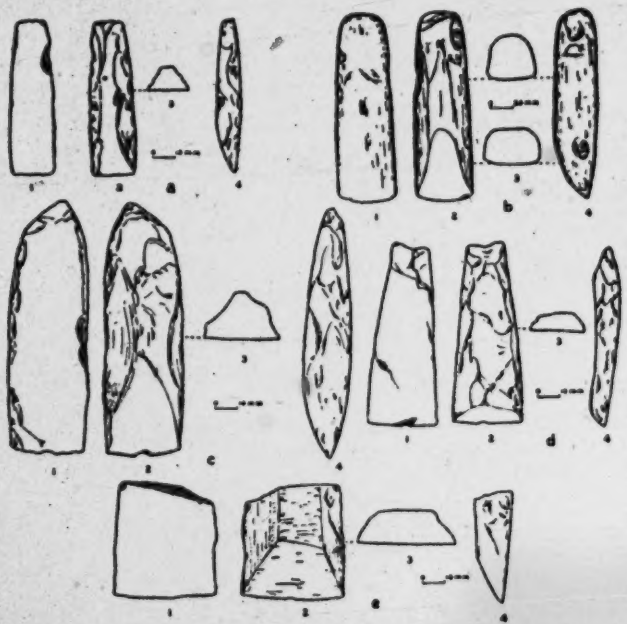

FIGURE 46.—Adzes of type 1 (1, front; 2 back; 3, cross section; 4, side): *a*, roughly chipped, front edges distinct, bevel well ground, 70 mm. long, 23 mm. wide, 13 mm. long (B3843a); *b*, variant with rounded edges, well ground and polished on front, poll surface pecked, triangular bevel merging into back, sections irregular, trapezoidal, 168 mm. long, 52 mm. wide, 42 mm. thick, weight 22 oz. (3590b); *c*, coarsely chipped with long flakes, some protruding edges ground, 111 mm. long, 36 mm. wide, 24 mm. thick (B3483); *d*, chipped, protruding parts ground, short, well-ground bevel with chin, 81 mm. long, 30 mm. wide, 11 mm. thick (B3483); *e*, fragment, well ground, flat surfaces, straight edges, 54 mm. long, 46 mm. wide, 20 mm. thick (B13590).

TYPE 1

All the small and many medium-sized adzes in Bishop Museum (59 in all) belong to type 1 (fig. 46), the characteristics of which are as follows:

The cross section is roughly quadrangular although most adzes are not ground on the sides and on the back. The greatest width from side to side is just above the cutting edge on the front, from which point the adz narrows toward the poll. The front is slightly

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convex longitudinally and generally flat transversely. Only a half or a third of the front surface is well ground, but there are a few specimens which are ground from the edge to the poll.

The sides slope toward the back and are coarsely chipped. On a few specimens the sides are slightly ground. The front edges are generally well marked, although they are irregular in many adzes and rounded in some (fig. 46, *b*). The sides and back are roughly shaped in most specimens, for grinding is rare and only partial. Consequently there are no longitudinal back edges. The bevel is the only well ground surface. In some specimens it tends to be triangular but in most adzes the chin is irregular owing to the unground back. Sometimes the chin is ground off. Bishop Museum has fragments of three adzes (B3590a; B3542c, d) which are exceptionally well ground on front, back, and sides (fig. 46, *e*).

Some adzes (B3590a, b, c; B3600a) differ slightly from the type in having markedly round edges (fig. 46, *b*).

Most small adzes of type 1 are made of black, fine-grained basalt.

TYPE 2

Type 2 is the most characteristic of Easter Island adzes. It is represented in the Bishop Museum collection by 29 specimens, of which 13 are fragmentary (fig. 47).

Specimens of this type are rounded in cross section and vary from 135 mm. to 250 mm. long. The front is ground from the edge toward the butt, but the extension of the ground surface toward the poll varies considerably. A groove pecked across the front, slightly below the poll, is present in nine specimens of the collection.

The front surfaces of many adzes of type 2 are convex and have a marked backward slope at the butt. In a few specimens the front surface of the blade is nearly straight. The back is more or less straight longitudinally and flat or slightly convex transversely. In one specimen the butt slopes backward at the poll, making the back slightly concave longitudinally. The sides are curved and there are distinct edges on the back in only a few specimens. The bevel surface is quadrangular and merges into the surface of the back.

Four specimens of type 2 have a narrow cutting edge and consequently almost triangular cross section (fig. 47, *a*). These are a variation of type 2 and not a special type. These four adzes are very thick from front to back as compared with their width from side to side.

A narrow front, a more or less rounded back, and great thickness from front to back characterize one adz (B3605a), but it is exceptionally large, being 330 mm. long, 94 mm. from front to back, and 83 mm. from side to side. It is unfinished and has been only roughly chipped.

The blades of four small, broken adzes (C3927, 3943, 3542, 3607) are well finished and the edges of front and back are well defined (fig. 47, *b*). The front, sides, and bevel are well ground. The adzes were probably used in reducing a surface by furrowing, removing the ridges between with a broad adz.

In most of the specimens the cutting edge is so narrow and so blunt that the carving of wood or felling of trees with it appears impossible. It must be concluded that these adzes were used in finishing the large stone statues or the slabs of the ahus. Moreover, there were no trees on the island large enough to justify the size of these implements. The rounded form of these adzes suggests that they were not hafted but were seized in the hand. The groove on some adzes of this type is too narrow to hold a lashing but gives a good grip to the hand. Suitable shafts for big adzes must have been difficult to find for wood was scarce and natives probably resorted to implements that could be used without a handle. The picks with which they dug and carved the tuff of Rano-raraku were grasped by the hand like the prehistoric hand-axes or *coups de poing*.

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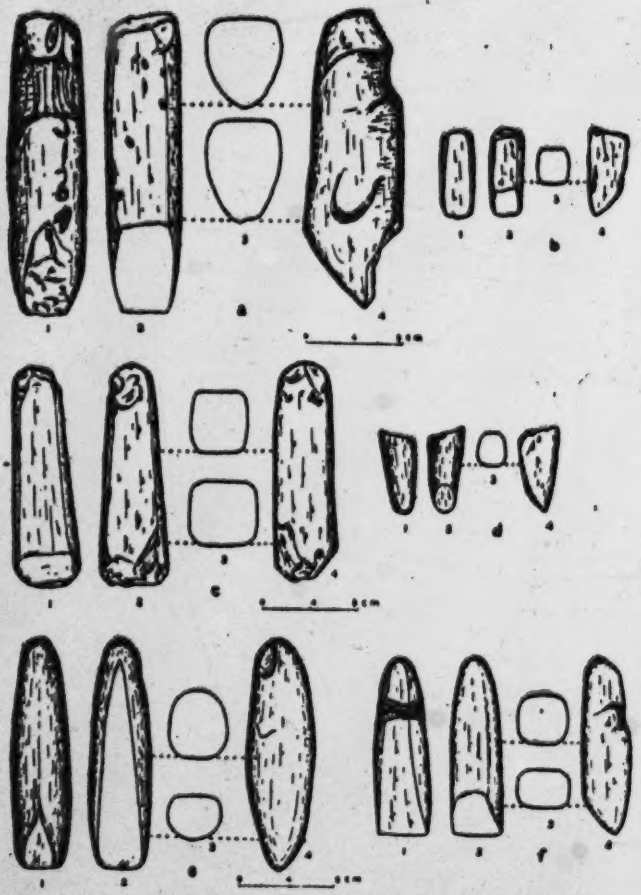

FIGURE 47.—Adzes of type 2 (1, front; 2, back; 3, cross sections; 4, side): *a*, partially ground, narrow cutting edge, 247 mm. long, 63 mm. wide, 84 mm. thick, weight 4 lbs. 6 oz. (B3594); *b*, thick, narrow, sides only partly ground along front edge, 73 mm. long, 28 mm. wide, 31 mm. thick (C3937); *c*, hand ax or chisel, 185 mm. long, 57 mm. wide, 52 mm. thick, weight 37 oz. (B3608); *d*, rounded, cutting edge narrow, 72 mm. long, 27 mm. wide, 32 mm. thick (B3542a); *e*, ground, bevel long, narrowing toward butt and forming edges with sides which continue convexity of front, 32 mm. long, 49 mm. wide, 54 mm. thick, weight 29 oz. (3899a); *f*, front almost flat transversely, distinct edges, transverse groove pecked at two thirds the distance from cutting edge to rounded poll, 148 mm. long, 44 mm. wide, 44 mm. thick (C8367).

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UNCLASSIFIED ADZES

Some specimens in the Bishop Museum collection cannot be included in either of the two types just defined. However, they are too few and too crudely made to be considered as a special type.

Two adzes (C3949, B3600) are decidedly triangular, but they are only chipped, with no trace of grinding. As they are unfinished, their shape cannot be considered distinctive. Had they been ground they would have belonged to type 1.

The adz in figure 47, *c* is characterized by its square cross section and by the more or less equal width of its four surfaces, which are well ground.

In the entire collection there are only three small adzes with a more or less circular cross section (B3542a, C3906, C3950). (See fig. 47, *d*.) Two are broken and, though small, may be included in type 2.

MODERN IMITATIONS OF OLD ADZES

When Easter Islanders discovered the commercial value of the implements left by their ancestors, they increased their supplies of antiques by faking specimens. In the Young collection I picked out 29 adzes which were obviously counterfeit. The bevel of modern adzes is ground on both sides as in European tools and the surface of the bevel is too even to have been obtained by ancient methods. The imitators apparently selected thin plates of stone with the general adz shape when that was possible.

The natives no longer make adzes. However, I was presented with a stone knife of the same material as that used in the old adzes, and I was later told that it had been made during our stay.

HAFTING

In the Bishop Museum collection there are hafts of two adzes from Easter Island (fig. 48, *a-b*). Their form corresponds to that of one hafted adz collected by Thomson (215, pl. 57). Easter Island adz hafts have several distinctive characteristics:

The shaft is continued to meet the front of the foot, as there is no projecting heel. The front of the toe which supports the adz is flat; the back and the sides are convex.

An Easter Island shaft collected by Thomson (Nat. Mus. 129734) has a heel with a longitudinal depression on its upper surface in which the stone blade was embedded (fig. 48, *c*). Another hafted adz in the same collection resembles those in figure 48.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN ADZES

Comparative study shows that Easter Island adzes are connected with those of the rest of Polynesia. Type 1 is widespread and probably ancient; type 2 was developed locally, though it resembles adzes of New Zealand and the Chatham Islands.

Tangless adzes are found almost everywhere in Polynesia. However, the tanged adz has been adopted throughout central and marginal Polynesia, with the significant exceptions of Mangareva and Easter Island (35). It would seem, therefore, that the Easter Islanders broke away from the rest of Polynesia before the specialization of the adz took place. The adzes of western

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Polynesia (Futuna, Tonga, Niue, Samoa, and Pukapuka) are generally tangless. The adzes of type 1 (small and flat, with longitudinal lines converging toward the poll, quadrangular cross section) belong to a class represented throughout Polynesia with the exception of Hawaii.

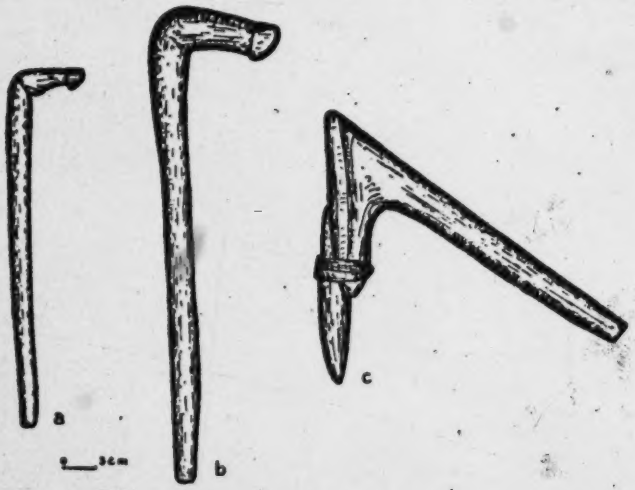

FIGURE 48.—Adz hafts: *a*, two grooves at inner angle of toe meet to form triangle which holds lashing in place, end of toe bulged at sides and back to prevent lashing from slipping down, shaft 292 mm. long, toe 58 mm. long and 22 mm. wide (B3521b); *b*, end of toe bulged at back, shaft 441 mm. long, toe 142 mm. long and 55 mm. wide (B3521a); *c*, hafted adz, groove in heel 18 mm. deep and 87 mm. long, total length of heel 188 mm., length of shaft 375 mm. (U. S. Nat. Mus. 129734).

The pecking process has been used in shaping many of the Easter Island adzes of type 2. According to Aitken (4, p. 139), pecking is absent or rare in Hawaiian, Samoan, and Pitcairn adzes and is present, but rare, in Tongan and Marquesan adzes. Pecking was widely used in Easter Island, Society Islands, Tubuai, Rapa, Cook Islands, and New Zealand. The absence of pecking in Mangareva does not seem significant as most Mangarevan adzes are very crude. Pecking is generally associated with superior workmanship.

Linton (142, p. 235) probably had in mind the thick, rounded adzes of type 2 when he applied the term "Melanesian" to certain Easter Island adzes. However, the oval form of these adzes is due to the rounding of the edges and not to a lenticular or completely rounded shape so characteristic of Melanesia. Some Fijian adzes, though longer and thicker, suggest a link with the Easter Island type 2. However, the Fijian specimens are highly

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412 171 polished, more slender, and their general style is little reminiscent of that of Easter Island adzes.

The resemblance between several thick, heavy adzes from New Zealand (22, pl. 9) and the Easter Island specimens is so striking that it would be difficult to distinguish between them if they were placed together unlabeled. The New Zealand adzes, however, are a little more quadrangular in cross section. Some Moriori adzes and chisels (206, pl. 24, *a-c*; pl. 25, *h-o*) can be compared to some varieties of our type 2. The Moriori specimens have a distinctly round cross section, but some of them might have been chisels.

A few Easter Island adzes of type 2 tend to have a triangular cross section, the apex of the triangle comprising the front. Although this type is rare and ill-defined, it shows a remote relationship between the Easter Island adzes and the triangular adzes (*toki kouma*) of New Zealand, Mangareva, the Tuamotus, Tahiti, and the Marquesas.

The groove on the Easter Island adz is a local feature. In other regions (Rapa, New Zealand, Chatham Islands) some adzes have a tang which might have developed from a groove as evidenced by the presence of a knob on the poll. This knob gives to some tangs the appearance of a long groove.

Chisels

324 412 Distinction between adzes and chisels is based more on function than on form. The adz was used with a swinging blow and was hafted on a knee-shaped shaft, whereas the chisel was driven by direct pressure of hand and arm or by mallet blows and was hafted axially. Only one hafted chisel from Easter Island has been preserved (fig. 49, *a*). The label gives this specimen the native name *kau toki* or *tingi* (strike).

A fragment of a stone tool (Bishop Mus. B3542) has such a curved cutting edge that it is nearly a gouge but the thickness (32 mm.) of the tool makes it more like the adzes of type 2 than like a chisel. Another fragment (Bishop Mus. B3541f) which has been sharpened by grinding on both faces is probably a chisel.

Modern Easter Islanders consider that all small adzes were used to carve the eyes of stone statues. They term *tingi* all specimens they believe to have been chisels. They haft European chisels as they did the old stone adzes, but they also employ chisels with a wooden mallet when carving wooden images. The favorite stone for chisels was an olivine andesite from Mount Otu.

Picks

Hundreds of picks with which the giant statues were carved are found in the ancient quarry on the slope of Rano-raraku. They are large, roughly chipped stones of the same nature as the lapilli in the tuff. They are generally

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amygdaloid in form and sharpened at both ends. Some specimens have somewhat rounded ends. It is highly improbable that they were hafted. All the specimens I examined were handy, although somewhat heavy. The volcanic tuff of which the statues were made is easily worked with such picks. Bishop Museum has only one pick from the quarry of Rano-raraku, but it is typical (fig. 49, *b*).

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FIGURE 49.—Stone implements: *a*, hafted chisel found in tomb and obtained by Giglioli from Salmon in 1883, handle rough light *hau* wood, 173 mm. long, lashing of twisted *hau* bark, chisel faces straight, bevel approximately same on each side, blade 50 mm. long (Mus. Pigorini, Rome, 949); *b*, roughly chipped stone pick used to carve stone images, sharpened at each end, 271 mm. long, 75 mm. wide, 62 mm. thick (B3597); *c*, stone knife, front curved, back flat, straight edge ground on both sides, slightly polished, 209 mm. long, 67 mm. wide (B3542); *d*, cutting implement, blade ground smooth, bevel merges into blade, 179 mm. long, 116 mm. wide, 20 mm. thick (B3483).

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Knives

Stone knives are frequently found on Easter Island, and natives are so well acquainted with their form that they make beautiful imitations of the same material—thin plates of basalt which are found on the surface of the ground and are easily adapted to the desired form.

The knives have a semicircular back and a long, straight cutting edge, which is usually raised at the end and terminates in a point (fig. 49, *c*). Usually one edge only is sharpened but in some specimens the curved as well as the straight rim has been ground into a cutting edge.

The cutting instrument shown in figure 49, *d*, and also Bishop Museum specimen no. B3591 are exceptional types. However, their perfect workmanship suggests that they are genuine. Their form is somewhat similar to the obsidian chisels or planes, but they are less sharp. They may have been used for wood carving, though they seem to be too thin for that purpose. Perhaps they were a specialized form of knife for cutting meat or other soft substances. The best specimen (fig. 49, *d*) has a conical handle produced by chipping and smoothed by polishing. The cutting edge is semicircular and sharpened by grinding. There is no trace of a bevel edge; one surface is flat and ground smooth. The other specimen is cruder. The handle has been chipped on the edges and slightly ground. The bevel is ground on both sides. In the National Museum at Washington there is a similar specimen collected by Thomson.

Obsidian Tools

Obsidian (*mataa*), of which spear heads and tools were made, comes from Mount Orito near Rano-raraku. The lower part of the hill is composed of

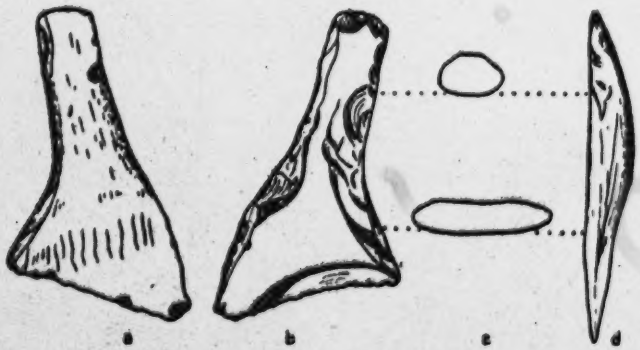

Figure 49A.—Obsidian tool (Bishop Mus. B3481): *a*, *b*, opposite surfaces; *c*, cross sections; *d*, side view.

sheets of obsidian and at the foot of the hill is a series of pits from which the material was formerly extracted. Thick layers of flakes surrounding the ancient pits indicate that the raw material was worked there. Among these

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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fragments I found some hammers which were used in chipping flakes. They were waterworn boulders of more or less oval shape. The narrowest end always showed traces of usage. One stone in Bishop Museum (B3493) has exactly the same shape as these hammers and was probably found at the same place. It is 193 mm. long and 69 mm. wide.

Obsidian wood-working tools are recorded by Palmer (171, p. 171): "[The natives] were very dexterous . . . carving both wood and stone; chips of obsidian are used for the former material, instead of chisels; they used obsidian flakes for razors and for their javelin head." Most obsidian tools are probably chisels or planes for wood carving. Some of them look like broken spear heads but many details preclude the possibility that they are fragments of ordinary *mataa*. (See figure 49A.)

Obsidian flakes nicely retouched on the borders may have been used for incising wood carvings or tablets, and a few may have been drill points. Some have a narrow edge but others have a sharp point. Their form is closely related to the small flint or quartz points that the Maoris attached to the spindles of their drills. One side is carefully retouched by fine chipping. These implements measure from 40 to 55 mm. (See figure 49B.)

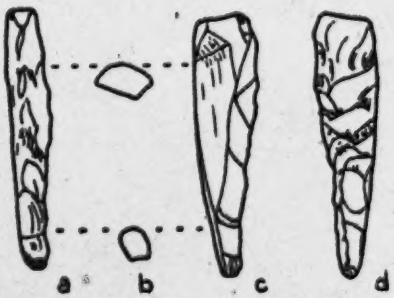

FIGURE 49B.—Obsidian drill or carving tool: *a*, side view; *b*, cross section; *c-d*, opposite sides.

IMPLEMENT OF UNKNOWN USE

In the Bishop Museum collection is what looks like an enlarged obsidian spear head but the tang is of such a length and thickness that it forms an effective hand grasp (fig. 50). It is much heavier than the spear heads and its long curved edge renders it suitable as a cutting implement. It could have been used as a hand weapon or as an implement for cutting up large fish or human flesh.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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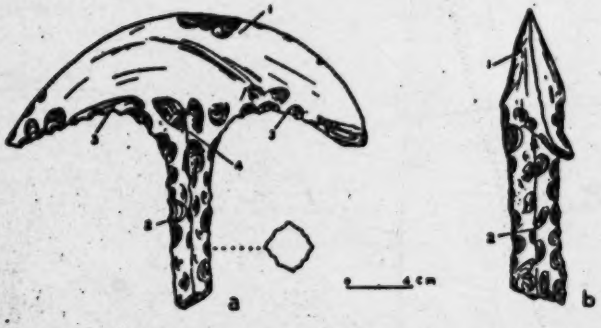

FIGURE 50.—Crescentic implement with prolonged tang (B2195): *a*, front view, crescentic blade (1) 221 mm. wide; greatest thickness in middle line 34 mm.; distal, convex edge sharp throughout, formed by meeting of two inclined planes without secondary chipping; proximal concave edges (3, 3) formed by chipping from both surfaces and leaving median longitudinal edges; tang (2) formed by chipping outward from the middle line from either surface, thus resulting in median longitudinal edges in front and back and also at two sides; width of tang (at point 4) 48 mm., and thickness 33 mm.; width at proximal end 24 mm., and thickness 29 mm.; length of tang (from point 4) 101 mm. *b*, side view, showing sharp edge of blade (1) and thickness of tang (2).

RUBBING STONES

Three stone discs are listed in the Bishop Museum catalog (B3615) as "polishers." A close examination of these disks shows that one or both of their plane surfaces have been rubbed against a hard substance, but this is the only hint as to their former use. The three specimens have almost the same diameter (900 mm.) and two of them the same thickness (45 mm.). The texture of two of these stones indicates that they might have had sufficient abrasive effect for wood working, but the third, a waterworn pebble, is so smooth and of such fine grain that it might have been a burnisher employed to give a final polish to wooden implements.

[526] Although these discs are probably polishers, they may be bowling stones similar to those found in Hawaii and New Zealand. Geiseler (87, p. 52) collected stones which were employed in a game and about which he says: "Throwing stone. Name: *mai hekupenga*. It was rolled in a game and was often decorated outside."

A quadrangular piece of pumiceous basalt (Bishop Mus. B3546) designated in the catalog as a "god" seems to have been a polisher. One surface is slightly concave and shows traces of rubbing.

The large slabs on the ahus and the curbs in the foundations of the houses could not have been dressed without some kind of rubbing stones. In the

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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Young collection there is a lump of coral which would have served this purpose. Unfortunately the origin of the specimen is uncertain. 324 412

One piece of basalt (Bishop Mus. B3553) has parallel grooves on both sides. Judging from the V-shaped cross sections of the grooves this stone must have been used for grinding the cutting edges of sharp instruments, probably knives or small adzes.

Comparisons with Other Polynesian Cutting Implements

The tanged knives of Easter Island resemble slightly a Moriori flint knife (206, pl. 26, *d*), though the Moriori specimen is cruder. An obsidian knife which is quite similar to the Easter Island spear heads and stone knives with a long cutting edge and a rudimentary tang have been found in the Chatham Islands (206, pl. 26, *g*, *e*). Bennett (19, pp. 63-64) describes a few stone knives found on Kauai in the Hawaiian islands. They are somewhat like Easter Island knives but are far more crude, and lack the semicircular cutting edge characteristic of Easter Island specimens. The stone knife in Polynesia seems to be a culture trait without significance for comparative purposes. 412 171

SANCTUARIES

The funerary cairns or ahus of various descriptions that extend along the coast in an almost continuous succession were probably the sanctuaries of the Easter Islanders corresponding to the maraes of central Polynesia. These structures, which have been used until recently as burial vaults, are associated in the memory of the natives with religious feasts; it was probable only after the introduction of Christianity that their former sacred function was forgotten. Like the maraes each ahu belonged to a distinct lineage. There is still a dim recollection of the ties uniting certain families to specific ahus. In this respect the analogy with central Polynesia is so striking that there is little doubt that the ahu is the equivalent of the marae. 346 778

The study of the ahus constitutes the most important and complex division of Easter Island archaeology. I have published elsewhere a general survey (153) and Dr. Henri Lavachery is preparing a detailed discussion of the ahus, based on his field work. Here it is sufficient to give a general account of their main features.

Ahus are the most common monuments on the island and give it much of its individuality. Most of them are located near the shore, and except on the barren headland of Poike and the steep cliffs of the southwest point, form an almost unbroken line along the coast. They are most numerous around coves and other particularly habitable spots and are generally associated with house foundations. Many ahus have been destroyed and the names of others forgotten. Yet Routledge (194, p. 166) estimated that there were 260 ahus on

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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316 A visit to the quarries of the western slope reveals a helter-skelter succession of unfinished statues, of artificial caves or niches from which statues
532 have been removed or are in the process of being disengaged, of narrow passages leading to an image ready to be launched, or to some incomplete image. In the quarries are 157 statues in different stages of completion. So many images are concentrated in a small area that there is hardly a place where the eye does not discover the outline of one of them, often in the most unexpected positions. Some statues are horizontal, others with the head toward either the foot or the top of the mountain. At each end of the quarry there is a series of images lying horizontally, one above another with heads and feet alternating on each side.

532 Several unfinished statues were executed in the least accessible places as if the sculptors had been afraid to waste any space. One of the largest images in the quarry is stranded with the head broken off in a passage formed by the removal of other statues. The accident probably occurred when the bed of earth on which the statue rested was washed away by rain. The number of empty quarries from which statues were taken is far smaller than the number of the statues on the ahus. Numerous niches were probably destroyed when new statues were to be carved.

The number of statues in process of construction is so great that it is difficult to believe that they were all being carved at the same time. The number of experts could hardly have sufficed for the task. Many statues were evidently left unfinished because of flaws in the material. Sometimes the lapilli extracted from the tuff left depressions on the surface which would have spoiled the finished statue.

A close study of a quarry reveals the technique of ancient carvers. After finding a satisfactory spur or ledge, the sculptor first shaped the face, next the front of the body, then the sides, and last of all the back. I know of only one statue which was detached before the details had been carved. Two unfinished statues show that at a certain stage the image was undermined from each side, leaving the statue attached to the rock below by a narrow flange (pl. 5, *C*). When the workers were ready to cut the flange they placed stone
[401] wedges under the statue to support it and to prevent its cracking. Three finished statues rest on such wedges. When necessary passages were cut in the rock on both sides of the statue where the carvers stood to work. When the statue was to be extracted from a perpendicular wall, a cave was hollowed around the statue.

532 The manner in which the rock was carved is clear. Around the statues, and particularly at the foot of the slope where they were washed by rainfall
412 and landslides, are found blunted stone mallets made of lapilli (p. 278). These mallets, held in the hand, were well adapted to their purpose. The carving was probably completed with adzes though there are few discarded adz blades

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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near the quarry. The final polishing was done with abrasive volcanic stones called *punga*. Though the amount of work involved was probably less than is generally believed, the two weeks allowed by Routledge for the completion of a statue seems to me too short a time.

Routledge (194, p. 181) suggests that it was never intended to remove many of the statues carved in the quarry. One statue still adhering to the rock is 20 meters long, a size that precludes the possibility of transport. Though the statue is apparently finished, there is no indication of any work to detach it from the ledge of tuff. Another image in the interior of the crater rests on its side with the back overhanging the cliff. It is unlikely that it would have occupied such a position if it was intended to be lowered down. There is further evidence that many of these images were merely rock carvings, "little more than embossed carvings on the face of the rock without surrounding alley-ways" (194, p. 181). Near Anakena we discovered a small stone image on a ledge of basalt. This occupied the same position as the large Rano-raraku images and was probably just a rock carving.

Statues on the Ahus

There are two classes of Easter Island statues—those which still stand in the crater, at the foot of Rano-raraku, or on the plains, and those which once surmounted the ahus or burial places. Though they are made of the same stone and are of the same general style, there are differences which are worth stressing.

The large ahus (p. 284) were all surmounted by *moai* or busts carved from the soft volcanic tuff of Rano-raraku crater. All these have been pulled down with the exception of the base of a statue on the right wing of ahu Tonga-riki. The number of statues which were erected on the ahu depended on its importance and perhaps on other circumstances which we will never know. Ahu Tonga-riki had 15 statues; ahu Akahanga, 13 statues; ahu Vinapu, 6; and Hanga-o-honu, 5 or perhaps 6. Five statues was the average for ahus of medium size. Te-pito-te-kura, near La Pérouse Bay, and a few others had only one statue. The images rested on large square slabs which still stand on the higher platforms of most of the ahus. The main characteristics of the statues may be defined as follows:

The long head is about three sevenths of the total height of the statue (134, p. 182). The top of the head is flat, the forehead narrow. The back of the head is vertical and, with the straight line of the ears, gives to the head a flattened and square appearance. The eyebrows are well marked and overlap elliptic cavities which represent the sockets of the eyes (pl. 6, *A*). The nose is long, the tip slightly upturned and the nostrils expanded. The thin lips of the mouth are pursed, giving the image a scornful expression. The chin has a sharp edge. On both sides the head is framed by conventionalized representations of the ear with elongated lobes. The nipples are sometimes so strongly delineated by the converging surface that the bust has a feminine appearance. When the

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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deteſtable roads, where not a ſingle tree appeared to give us ſhelter from the ſcorching ſun. I rewarded my friendly conductors with all the Taheitee cloth, and iron ware, which I had about me, and arrived ſafely on board with the party." 1774. MARCH. 175 X

From this narrative it is evident, that the moſt diligent enquiries on our part, have not been ſufficient to throw a clear light on the ſurpriſing objects which ſtruck our eyes in this iſland. We may however, attempt to account for thoſe gigantic monuments, of which great numbers exiſt in every part; for as they are ſo diſproportionate to the preſent ſtrength of the nation, it is moſt reaſonable to look upon them as the remains of better times. The niceſt calculations which we could make, never brought the number of inhabitants in this iſland beyond ſeven hundred *, who, deſtitute of tools, of ſhelter, and clothing, are obliged to ſpend all their time in providing food to ſupport their precarious exiſtence. It is obvious that they are too much occupied with their wants, to think of forming ſtatues, which would coſt them ages to finiſh, and require their united ſtrength to erect. Accordingly, we did not ſee a ſingle inſtrument among them on all our excurſions, which could have been of the leaſt uſe in maſonry or ſculpture. 174 532 [161] [42]

* The Spaniards in the S. Lorenzo, and frigate Roſalia, make the population of Eaſter Iſland amount to between two and three thouſand; but it may be doubted whether they examined the interior country, as well as our people. See Mr. Dalrymple's Letter to Dr. Hawkeſworth.

11: Lavachery A-5 (1934-1935)1937
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god Make Make continued to take place. The last bird-man was drawn, according to Thompson, in 1880. It may be recalled that the house of the bird-man, the tomb reserved for him, was inside the *tapu* surrounding the quarry whence came the statues and where the oldest still stand. This is presumptive evidence in favor of a close connection between the cult of Orongo and that of ancestors. Perhaps sufficient importance has not been attached to the fact that Orongo contains breccia sculptures from Rano Raraku,[8] and that it is from Orongo that there came the most perfect example of the typical Easter Island statue, that at the British Museum.

Take on the other hand all those manifestations of the plastic skill of the Pascuans—the sculptures on stone and wood, the designs of the rock-carvings and tablets, of the rock paintings and tattoo marks. The technique varies with the raw material, but the uniformity of style is indisputable.

The abrupt end, as it seems, of the activities of Rano Raraku has been invoked both by the adherents of the theory of an age-old lost civilization and by those who favor the idea of a dual Pascuan culture. But the arrest of activity can be explained by simple, almost contemporary, causes. The exploitation of the volcano was controlled by the clan of the Tupahotus, and, as everywhere in Polynesia, by a group of specialists. It required only a war to partially destroy the specialists—and tradition tells of many wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century. An epidemic imported by the whalers might equally be responsible; today each vessel that arrives brings some malady to the Pascuans. Finally, the Peruvian raids (1859–61) are traditionally reported to have given the coup-de-grace to the class of *maoris* (experts).

The fact that in 1886 the Pascuans had already forgotten how and why their activities had been brought to a close, as well as other facts about their culture—such as how the statues were transported, and the meaning of the tablets—is no evidence of the antiquity of these facts, nor does it justify an attribution to another culture. For we have seen these same Pascuans refusing to admit that the stone adzes could have been used to work wood; while it is certain that before 1860 iron must have been very rare in the island, and that their immediate forebears must necessarily have worked wood with the aforesaid adzes. On the other hand they freely admit that adzes and stone chisels were used to work the two kinds of andesite of which the statues, bols, and house stones were made. By a curious inversion the Pascuan regards wood as being harder and more difficult to work than

[8] A volcano in the eastern part of Easter Island. On its slopes is the quarry where the statues were hewn.

11: Lavachery A-5 (1934-1935) 1937
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stone, so easy to fashion is the stone of this island. This argument[a] can be used against those who put forward the alleged difficulty of carving igneous rock as a reason for attributing them to a race more skilled, more strong, and gifted with better implements than the Polynesians.

But to return to the first Polynesian colonists. Very probably the fauna and flora of Easter Island were extremely restricted. But following a custom common in all their migrations, they would have taken with them plants, seeds of the most useful vegetables, rats, and chickens. They colonized the island, and their first settlements were at Anakena on the north coast and at Akahanga on the south. They set about conserving rainwater, for Easter Island has no springs. At the same time they learned how to protect the crops against the continual winds. They were familiar with certain crafts which they hold in common with all Polynesians—the making of cloth from mulberry bark (tapa) and the working of wood and stone. The latter craft differs only from that found in the other Polynesian islands in respect of the size of the monuments. The abundance of easily carved stone was the sole predetermining cause of the Pascuans erecting on their island the largest statues found in the islands of Oceania.

The technical skill of the former inhabitants is seen also in the manufacture of implements and weapons of obsidian, and of fish-hooks of stone and bone. These last were made with human bone, for man was the only mammal available with bones large enough. The Pascuan writing on wood shows their skill and taste. There have been found a large number of rock paintings and engravings, the former magical, the latter merely trial pieces.

The Pascuan house, when it is above ground, shows many technical analogies with the Hawaiian house, which, like it, is roofed with tufts of grass set on a framework of boughs. Whenever possible, the Pascuans settled themselves in artificial caves or holes in the ground, which provided a less precarious shelter in war and against thieves. The fowl house was built on the same principles.

The Pascuans were tatooed, and on feast days they painted their bodies with appropriate emblems.

Ten family groups or clans divided up the island between them. The king belonged to the clan of Miru. His place of residence changed, and his role was indeterminate. Many taboos, notably in the matter of food, isolated him from Pascuan life. He did not engage in the wars which often broke out between the clans of the west and north and those of the east (Kotuu against Hotu Iti). He pre-

[a] Unfortunately, however, the mystery mongers are not as a rule open to reason. Mystery is their religion.—Translator.

14: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
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532 483 abandoned in transport and has since broken in two. It has been taken from a higher niche, and is being moved over two or three vacant ones across which it lies. The probable method of such removal would be to erect a causeway or bank of earth across such inequalities, and if the statue were abandoned while resting on this, it would break by its own weight as the earth was gradually washed away. We were able to find the tools with 412 which these statues were made; they had not previously been recognized although they lie around in abundance. They are of the same material as the lapilli in the rock of which the images are formed. In the parts of the quarries which are sheltered from weather the chisel marks are as clear as if the work had been done but yesterday.

532 In the detritus below the quarries a large number of figures have been set up. They all stand with their backs to the mountain; those on the outside look along the coast to the south-west, those on the inside over the crater lake to the north. Many of the statues have been buried by falls of loose material from the cliff wall behind and above them, and in some cases only the face or top of the head is visible. We excavated either wholly or in part some twenty to thirty of these figures. It was found that they had originally been set into the earth to about the height of the elbow. In some cases the diggers in making the hole had come across a rock, which they had carefully cut away to take the image. But though the lower part of the figure must thus always have been hidden, it is fully finished with the hands perfectly made. Excavation also revealed a design on the back of some of the images. This can be traced on the one now in the British Museum which when on the island was kept in a stone house; but it has been obliterated by weather from those on the terraces, only slight traces remaining. It consists of a threefold belt, which has a pattern below it, and is surmounted by a ring or sometimes by two rings.

It was clear that these statues had been intended to remain in the holes, for the base is sometimes found narrowed down and almost wedge-shaped, whereas with the images which have stood on the terraces the bottom expands. This contradicts the theory that the figures were placed temporarily on the mountain and were subsequently to be removed to the terraces. In one or two cases excavation was made to a lower level than the base of a statue, and it was proved that they have had no sort of foundation or pedestal, nor was there anything in the way of burial to be traced below.

In one case and one only a burial was found, at the back of a statue at above the level of the rings. In a few other cases there were isolated bones. These burials seem, however, to be comparatively recent and not originally connected with the statues. At the time of a great small-pox epidemic corpses were deposited any and everywhere.

A few carvings were found on the figures, and the back of one statue is covered with them, but they apparently are also more recent than the images and are of very inferior workmanship to the rings and belt.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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316 483 been abandoned; but it is at least equally possible that for the purpose of bringing it down, a bank or causeway of earth had been built up to level the inequalities of the descent, and that it was resting on this when the work came to an end; the soil would then in time be washed away, and the figure fracture through loss of support.

316 In the quarry which is shown in fig. 54, the finished head can be seen lying across the opening, the body is missing, presumably broken off and buried; the bottom of the keel on which the figure at one time rested can be clearly traced in a projecting line of rock down the middle of its old bed, also the different

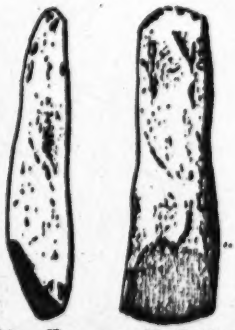

FIG. 52. STONE TOOLS (*Tahi*). FIG. 53. *H. Balfour del.*

sections where the various men employed have chipped away the stone in undermining the statue. In the quarry wall the niches occupied by the sculptors are also visible, at more than one level, the higher ones being discarded when the upper portion of the work was finished and a lower station needed. The hand of the standing boy in fig. 51 rests on a small platform similarly abandoned.

316 324 412 The tools were found with which the work has been done. One type of these can be seen lying about in great abundance (fig. 52). They are of the same material as the lapilli in the statues, and made by flaking. Some specimens are pointed at both ends,

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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others have one end more or less rounded. It is unlikely that they were hafted, and they were probably held in the hand when in use. They were apparently discarded as soon as the point became damaged. There is another tool much more carefully made, an adze blade, with the lower end bevelled off to form the cutting edge. In the specimen shown, the top is much abraded apparently from hammering with a maul or mallet (fig. 53). These are rarely found, the probability being that they were too precious to leave and were taken home by the workmen. The whole process was not necessarily very lengthy; a calculation of the number of men who could work at the stone at the same time, and the amount each could accomplish, gave the rather surprising result that a statue might be roughed out within the space of fifteen days. The most notable part of the work was the skill which kept the figure so perfect in design and balance that it was subsequently able to maintain its equilibrium in a standing position; to this it is difficult to pay too high a tribute.

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It remains to account for the vast number of images to be found in the quarry. A certain number have, no doubt, been abandoned prior to the general cessation of the work; in some cases a flaw has been found in the rock and the original plan has had to be given up—in this case, part of the stone is sometimes used for either a smaller image or one cut at a different angle. In other instances the sculptors have been unlucky enough to come across at important points one or more of the hard nodules with which their tools could not deal, and as the work could not go down to posterity with a large wart on its nose or excrescence on its chin, it has had to be stopped. But when all these instances have been subtracted, the amount of figures remaining in the quarries is still startlingly large when compared with the number which have been taken out of it, and must have necessitated, if they were all in hand at once, a number of workers out of all proportion to any population which the island has ever been likely to have maintained. The theory naturally suggests itself that some were merely rock-carvings and not intended to be removed. It is one which needs to be adopted with caution, for more than once, where every appearance has pointed to its being correct, a similar neighbour has been found which was actually being removed; on the whole, however, there can be

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15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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cross-legged around it, howling all night by the light of flares. As no information was volunteered to us about such celebrations, the natives were asked if they had ever known a similar figure, and an old man at once replied that there had existed one just like the description, made of reeds, as a memorial of a dead wife or "fine" child; it stood in front of the house, or was sometimes carried to a hillock where the people assembled to mourn. One of the officers of the La Pérouse Expedition also described a figure seen near a platform; it was 11 feet in height, clothed in white tapa ("*étoffe blanche du pays*"); it had hanging round the neck a basket covered with white, and by the side of this bag the figure of a child 2 feet long. This seems to confirm the information that it was intended to represent a woman.

Another great festivity, given for a father either living or dead, was the "KORO." This was a house-party on a very extended scale. A special dwelling made with poles and thatched was put up, and, according to accounts, which surround it no doubt with a halo from the past, measured some hundreds of feet in length and 20 feet in height. An old man stated that at a celebration at which he was present there were "a hundred guests," a number which is probably a guess, but the addition that there were "ten cooking-places" sounds like memory. Invitations to these festivities were much in request, as there was "no work to do"; presents of food were brought to the hero who distributed them to the party. They seem to have lasted indefinitely, going on for months, and the time was passed with various entertainments. The old people sang, the young people danced, and the host, who lived in a little house near, came and looked on. On the last day there was a great feast, and the house was broken down with the aid of the carved wooden lizards, which are associated with the island (fig. 117). We were puzzled in coming across a rough stone building, near Anakena, which seemed to be neither ahu, dwelling, nor chicken-house; it had been, the men told us, a shelter for the posts of the koro, where they were kept in readiness for the next celebration.

There was yet another entertainment which is said to have been in honour of a mother, as a koro was of a father. In at least four different places on the island are to be seen a dancing-ground known as "KAUNGA." It is a narrow strip paved with pebbles, over 200 feet in length by 2 feet in width, and not